

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00026 01 OF 03 021916Z

53

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 SSO-00

NSCE-00 (ISO) W

----- 045028

O 021719Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6785

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 ATHENS 0026

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (HAYS, WANE L.) GR, ET, TU, PFOR

SUBJECT: CODEL HAYS: FULL TEXT PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS

ATHENS, JANUARY 2, 1975

REF: ATHENS 0024

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF CONGRESSMAN WAYNE HAYS' REMARKS AND
RESPONSES IN COURSE OF PRESS CONFERENCE IN ATHENS AT 1300 HOURS
(LOCAL TIME) JANUARY 2, 1975. BEGIN TEXT:

REP HAYS: I AM HERE IN MY CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON STATE DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION AND FOREIGN OPERATIONS, COMMITTEE OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND (IN GREECE AND IN TURKEY) ALSO IN MY CAPACITY AS
PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, THE ORGANIZATION WHICH IS T
HE
PARLIAMENTARY ARM OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. A LITTLE BACKGROUND
ON THAT: WHEN THE DICTATORSHIP TOOK OVER IN THIS COUNTRY, THEY CONTIN
UED
TO SEND THEIR DUES TO THAT ORGANIZATION AND WANTED TO SEND OBSERVERS.

ON MY MOTION WE RETURNED THEIR MONEY AND TOLD THEM THAT NO OBSERVER O
F

THAT GOVERNMENT WAS WELCOME. ONCE GREECE HAD AN ELECTION, AND HAD A
DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT, THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE A CHAIR THERE FOR GREECE

,
WE TOLD THEM, AND THAT WE HOPED GREECE WOULD OCCUPY IT QUICKLY ONCE TH
AT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ATHENS 00026 01 OF 03 021916Z

EVEN HAPPENED. AND THAT WE DID BELIEVE IT WOULD HAPPEN. THE ONLY OTHE

R

THING THAT I MUST SAY BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, IS THAT I'M THE AUTHOR OF THE AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN AID BILL WHICH PROHIBITED THE SENDING OF ARMS TO THE DICTATORSHIP. IT WAS AMENDED ON THE FLOOR AND I DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH SUPPORT AND VOTES IN THE HOUSE TO KEEP IT FROM BEING FURTHER

AMENDED. IT SAID (FINALLY) THAT MY AMENDEMENT WOULD STAND UNLESS THE PRESIDENT FOUND IT IN THE OVERRIDING INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PROVIDE ARMS FOR THE THEN GREEK GOVERNMENT. AND MR. NIXON ALWAYS FOUND IT EXPEDIENT TO DO THAT. I THINK THAT AT LEAST MY STNTIMENTS WERE KNOWN, AND THOSE OF THE CONGRESS WERE KNOWN, AND I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY QUESTION IN ANYBODY'S MIND IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WE MADE SOME WRONG DECISIONS ABOUT THAT GOVERNMENT; THAT IT COULDN'T HAVE LASTED AAS LONG AS IT DID IF WE HADN'T MADE THOSE WRONG DECISIONS. NOW THAT IS ABOUT ALL I HAVE TO SAY, AND I'LL BE GLAD TO TRY TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS:

Q: WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF YOUR VISIT BOTH IN ANKARA AND HERE IN ATHENS?

A: WELL I WOULD BE LESS THAN CANDID IF I DIDN'T SAY TO YOU THAT AMONG MANY PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD TODAY THE CYPRUS QUESTION IS HIGH ON THE

LIST. I HAPPEN TO BE ONE OF THOSE WHO DON'T BELIEVE THAT THE CYPRUS QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED UNTIL THE DISAGREEING PARTIES SIT DOWN AND START

TALKING. SO I HAD HOPED TO CONVEY TO BOTH SIDES MY INTEREST AND THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS IN SEEING A DECENT AND FAIR AND

HONORABLE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE.

Q. CONGRESSMAN, YOU SAID, YOU HAD HOPED TO CONVEY?

A: I HAD HOPED, AND DID CONVEY, LET'S PUT IT THAT WAY. I MIGHT TELL YOU THAT I SAW IN ANKARA BOTH THE LEADERS OF THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES, MR. ECEVIT AND MR. DEMIREL, AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT AND SEVERAL SENATORS FROM THE PARLIAMENT, AND I DID CONVEY THAT TO THEM -- AND I CONVEYED THE SAME TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE HERE -- THAT OUR COUNTRY WOULD

LIKE TO SEE A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM THAT WOULD BE FAIR TO ALL PARTIES, WOULD BE HONORABLE AND SO ON, AND THAT I HOPED WE COULD BE OF SOME HELP IN BRINGING THAT ABOUT.

Q: HAVE YOU PRODUCED ANY PLAN, THEN, FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 ATHENS 00026 01 OF 03 021916Z

CRISIS?

A: I DON'T HAVE A PLAN IN MY POCKET. AND I DON'T THINK IT IS UP TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO PRODUCE A PLAN. I THINK THAT A PLAN WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. I THINK THE MOST

THAT WE CAN DO, AS A THIRD PARTY, IS TO URGE THAT BOTH SIDES SHOW UNDERSTANDING AND THAT THERE BE SOME TRUST ESTABLISHED. WE WILL HELP IN ANY WAY WE CAN, BUT WE ARE NOT PRINCIPALS TO THAT.

Q: DID THE TURKS CONFIRM TO YOU THAT THEY WITHDREW FORCES FROM CYPRUS ?

A: YES. THEY DID.

Q: DID THEY SAY HOW MANY?

A: THE FIGURE THAT WAS GIVEN TO ME AT THE NORTH ATLANTIC SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING IN LONDON WAS 5.000. I DID NOT QUESTION THAT FIGURE WHEN I WAS

IN ANKARA, I MIGHT SAY.

Q: DON'T YOU THINK SIR, THAT CYPRUS, AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE, SHOULD HAVE A WORD IN THIS AGREEMENT? CAN TURKEY AND GREECE REACH AGREEMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF CYPRUS?

A: THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL, OF COURSE, HAVE TO BE CARRIED ON BETWEEN THE CYPRIOTS THEMSELVES. BUT I DON'T THINK ANYBODY IN THE WORLD IS FOOLISH ENOUGH TO THINK THAT GREECE AND TURKEY WILL NOT BE LOOKING OVER THEIR SHOULDER, AND THAT ANY AGREEMENT THAT IS GOING TO BE MADE WILL ALSO HAVE TO BE ACCEPTABLE, I WOULD THINK, TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT. I AM A PRAGMATIST FROM A WAY BACK.

(I ONE TIME TOLD JACK KENNEDY WHO IS CONSIDERED TO BE OUR MOST PRAGMATIC PRESIDENT: JACK, I SAID -- HE AND I CAME TO CONGRESS TOGETHER

--DON'T THINK YOU INVENTED PRAGMATISM. I WAS PRACTISING IT BEFORE I MET YOU.) AND I THINK THAT PRAGMATISM DEMANDS THAT OF COURSE THE INITIAL AGREEMENT SHOULD BE BETWEEN THE CYPRIOTS THEMSELVES, OF BOTH TURKISH AND GREEK ORIGIN; BUT I THINK THAT WHATEVER AGREEMENT IS MADE IN THE REALISTIC WORLD AND IN THE TOUGH WORLD WE ARE LIVING IN IS GOING TO ALSO HAVE TO HAVE THE APPROVAL OF BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS

Q: WELL, THE GREEK GOVT HAVE GONE ON RECORD SAYING THEY WILL ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION THAT THE CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS. PERHAPS THEN IF SOME

INFLUENCE IS BROUGHT TO BEAR, AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WERE TO SAY THE SAME THING, THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM ANY MORE? TO PUT IT UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 ATHENS 00026 01 OF 03 021916Z

DIFFERENTLY: THE FEELING HAS BEEN ALL ALONG THAT THE CYPRUS GOVT AND THE GREEK GOVT COULD WORK OUT A SOLUTION, BUT THE TURKISH GOVT-- NOT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT ELEMENT-- IS AGAINST THE SOLUTION. DO YOU HAVE ANY ASSESSMENT ON THAT BASIS?
KUBISCH

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00026 02 OF 03 021929Z

53

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 SSO-00

NSCE-00 (ISO) W

----- 045029

O 021719Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6786

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 ATHENS 0026

A: AS AN AMATEUR AND ONE WHO CAN ONLY GO ON WHAT PEOPLE TELL HIM AND ACCEPT THEIR WORD AT FACE VALUE, I HAVE A FEELING THAT THE TURKS AT THE MOMENT ARE READY TO SIT DOWN AND MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS.

Q: DID YOU FIND OUT DURING YOUR STAY HERE, AND ALSO IN TURKEY, THAT THERE IS NOW ANNY MORE MOMENTUM TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS AS RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF DR KISSINGER, AND COULD YOU TELL US GENERALLY WHAT DR KISSINGER IS DOING TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES TOGETHER?

A: WITH REGARD TO DR KISSINGER, IT'S NOT UP TO ME TO SAY WHAT HE IS DOING. I'D RATHER THAT HE WOULD SAY THAT FOR HIMSELF. I WOULD BE LESS THAN CANDID THOUGH IF I DIDN'T SAY THAT I THOUGHT THAT THERE OUGHT TO BE

MORE MOMENTUM THAN THERE IS. AND THAT IS PART OF MY EFFORT. BEING TRUSTED BY GREEKS BECAUSE OF MY EFFORTS ON THER BEHALF WHEN THEY WERE BEING OPPRESSED, AND HAVING A WIDE ACQUAINTANCE AMONGST THE LEADERSHIP IN TURKEY, I THINK BOTH SIDES ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT ME AS BEING HONEST, ALTHOUGH MAYBE NOT AN EXPERIENCED DIPLOMAT. ONE OF MY MISSIONS WAS TO TRY TO GET SOME MOMENTUM GOING. I DON'T THINK ANYTHING CAN BE ACHIEVED TILL THE TALKS REALLY GO ON IN EARNEST. THAT'S WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO SEE.

Q: COULD IT BE, THEN, MR HAYS, THAT YOU ARE TAKING ON A ROLE SOMETHIN G

LIKE CYRUS VANCE WHO WAS THE NEGOTIATOR WAY BACK IN 1967?

A: WELL, I DOUBHT IF THAT'S WITHIN MY COMPETENCE, PERSONALLY, BECAUSE I ALSO HAVE OTHER DUTIES BESIDES THE ONES THAT WERE ENUMERATED IN THE BEGINNING AND I AM REALLY TIED DOWN IN WASHINGTON. BUT IF THERE IS SOME AMERICAN WHOM BOTH THE GREEKS AND TURKS WOULD TRUST, AND THE CYPRIOTS WOULD TRUST, AND IF THEY WANTED HIM AS A MEDIATOR, I WOULDN'T

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ATHENS 00026 02 OF 03 021929Z

RULE OUT THAT WE'D BE WILLING TO ATTEMPT THAT TASK.

Q: ONE OF THE GREEK DEMANDS WAS THAT THE TURKISH TROOPS PULL OUT OF PART OF THE AREA THEY OCCUPY NOW. ARE YOU HOPEFUL THAT THESE DEMANDS MAY BE MET BY THE TURKS?

A: I THINK THAT THAT'S A NEGOTIABLE DEMAND THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET EVENTUALLY. I DON'T SAY TOMORROW OR THE NEXT DAY; BUT I BELIEVE

THAT THAT IS A DEMAND THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO MEET. AND I THINK THAT THOSE ARE THE EXACT LINES THEY ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ON.

Q: SIR, HAVE YOU DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF THE REFUGEES IN YOUR TALKS IN ANKARA?

A: YES, WE TALKED ABOUT THE REFUGEES. THE TURKS, OF COURSE, MAKE A BIG ISSUE OF THE REFUGEES THEY HAVE IN THE BRITISH BASES. AND I PERSONALLY RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES. WE DIDN'T COME TO ANY CONCLUSION. BUT THAT QUESTION WAS RAISED AND IT WAS DISCUSSED. I SUPPOSE I WAS IN A POSITION IN TURKEY OF BEING THE ADVOCATE FOR GREECE AND IN GREECE BEING THE ADVOCATE FOR TURKEY. IN OTHER WORDS ALL

I WAS TRYING TO DO IS TO GET THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES AND TRY TO MAKE SOME EVALUATION AS TO WHERE THE BIG DISAGREEMENTS ARE.

Q: HAVING ESTABLISHED THAT THE TURKS ARE WILLING TO TALK AND MAKE CONCESSIONS, AND HAVING CONVEYED THIS NO DOUBT TO THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER, DID YOU FIND THAT THERE IS ANY COMMON GROUND? DID YOU FIND THAT WE ARE CLOSER TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOLUTION NOW? AND OF THE RETURN OF GREECE TO NATO?

A: WELL I'M THE GUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF GREECE AND I'VE BEEN A LONG TIME ADMIRER OF MR. CARAMANLIS - I VISITED HIM AT LEAST TWICE WHEN HE WAS IN EXILE - AND I THINK ANY COMMENT ON OUR CONVERSATIONS OUGHT TO COME FROM HIM. I DON'T THINK IT'S THE POLITE THING TO DO TO COME DIRECTLY FROM HIS OFFICE AND BE SPECIFIED ABOUT WHAT WE TALKED ABOUT. BUT I WILL SAY THAT WE COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS AND I FOUND HIM

AS ALWAYS TO HAVE A TREMENDOUS GRASP OF THE SITUATION. I WILL TELL YOU ONE SPECIFIC THING I DID SAY TO HIM: MR PRIME MINISTER, YOU'RE A LOT SMARTER AND A LOT MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT AFFAIRS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD THAN I AM. THAT CERTAINLY IS AN UNDISPUTEABLE STATEMENT. APART FROM THAT, I WOULD PREFER WHEN YOU SEE HIM -- IF HE CARES TO COMMENT -- I WOULD RATHER HAVE HIM DO IT. BUT I WILL ADD A POSTSCRIPT
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 ATHENS 00026 02 OF 03 021929Z

C
I'M DELIGHTED TO SEE HIM AS PRIME MINISTER AND DELIGHTED TO SEE DEMOCRACY IN GREECE AND I HAVE A LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN HIM AND I BELIEVE THAT HE

WILL DO THE RIGHT THING IN THE END.

Q: WHILE WE RESPECT YOUR RELUCTANCE TO SAY WHAT TRANSPIRED IN YOUR CONVERSATION WITH MR CARAMANLIS, COULD YOU BE KIND ENOUGH TO TELL US WHETHER YOU ARE MORE OPTIMISTIC NOW THAT YOU ARE LEAVING THIS AREA THAN YOU WERE WHEN YOU CAME IN?

A. I THINK THAT'S A FAIR QUESTION, AND I'LL ANSWER IT IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

IVE.

I AM MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN I WAS WHEN I LEFT HOM ON CRHISTMAS AFTERNOO
N.

AND I MIGHT ADD THAT I DIDN'T DREAM UP THIS TRIP ON MY OWN, AND I
DIDN'T WILLINGLY LEAVE MY HOME ON CRHISTMAS DAY TO COME OUT HERE JUST
FOR A PLEASURE TRIP. I HAVEN'T BEEN MORE THAN 36 HOURS IN ANY ONE
COUNTRY AND I MUST BE BACK IN OHIO FOR A VERY IMPORTANT ENGAGEMENT ON
SATURDAY. SO I WILL BE LEAVING LONDON TOMORROW MORNING FOR WASHINGTON

,
AND THEN DIRECTLY ON TO OHIO. I TALKED THIS MATTER OVER WITH THE
SECRETARY (OF STATE) AND MY CONCEPTION OF WHAT I MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO
WAS APPROVED BY HIM, AND THAT'S WHY I CAME

Q: DID YOU COME AT HIS REQUEST?

A: WELL, LET'S PUT IT THAT WAY: WE DISCUSSED THE MATTER, AND MY
MISSION HAD HIS COMPLETE APPROVAL

Q: THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS ARE BEING
CALLED TO WASHINGTON FOR TALKS WITH KISSINGER. IS THIS THE RESULT
OF YOUR TRIP HERE?

A: I WOULDN'T WANT TO SAY THAT. I THINK SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS HAD
THIS PROBLEM VERY MUCH ON HIS MIND. AS YOU KNOW, HE HAS MANY PROBLEMS
IN

MANY PLACES IN THE WORLD. THERE HAS BEEN A CABLEGRAM SENT BACK FROM
EACH OF THE COUNTRY I VISITED. I'VE SEEN THE ONE FROM CAIRO, THE ONE
FROM ANKARA, AND I WILL, IF I WANT TO, SEE THE ONE FROM HERE. I HAVE
EVERY FAITH AND TRUST IN OUR AMBASSADOR HERE WHOM I'VE KNOWN FOR A
LONG TIME. ALL I HOPE IS THAT MY DISCUSSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS CAN BE
OF SOME USE TO THEM. THEY PROBABLY HAVE A BETTER GRASP OF THE SITUATI
ON

IN EACH COUNTRY BY FAR THAN I DO; BUT THE I HAVE HAD THE ABILITY TO
TALK TO THE LEADERS IN ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 ATHENS 00026 02 OF 03 021929Z

PART OF MY MISSION, I MIGHT TELL YOU, IS TO INFORM THE AMERICAN
CONGRESS. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME STEPS TAKEN THERE I THINK ARE WRONG.
AND THEY HAVE BEEN TAKEN BECAUSE NOBODY REALLY KNEW WHAT THE SITUATIO
N

WAS; I HOPE I HAVE ENOUGH PRESTIGE TO MAKE A MAJORITY OF MY
COLLEAGUES AWARE OF IT. AND FINALLY I WOULD LIKE TO SAY, AS I SAID IN
THE BEGINNING, THAT I THINK THAT WE'VE MADE MISTAKES IN GREECE. I
HATE TO SEE THE GREEKS HOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS.
I THINK THE MISTAKES WERE MADE BY OUR GOVERNMENT, POSSIBLY THE
PENTAGON. NOW, I DON'T THINK EVERYONE IN THE PENTAGON IS ABAD MAN OR
A BOOGY MAN; BUT I DO THINK WE'VE MADE MISTAKES IN OUR ATTITUDE TOWAR
D

GREECE. AND I'M NOT SECOND GUESSING. BECAUSE, FOR SEVEN YEARS, I'VE
BEEN SAYING THAT IF WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THIS JUNTA WE'RE GOING
TO LOOSE THE FRIENDSHIP AND AFFECTION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE. I AM NOT
EXACTLY BRAND NEW IN GREECE. I WAS IN GREECE IN 1949 WITH GENERAL
VAN FLEET, I WAS UP ON THE FRONTIER IN IOANINNA AND KONITSA AND SAW
THE FIGHTING FIRST HAND AND ONE OF THE TWO PLANES OUR PARTY WAS IN

WAS SHOT DOWN.
KUBISCH

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00026 03 OF 03 022012Z

42
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 SSO-00

NSCE-00 /020 W

----- 045037

O 021719Z JAN 75
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6787

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 ATHENS 0026

I DONT KNOW WHO SHOT THEM DOWN, WHETHER IT WAS THE YUGOSLAVS OR
GUERRILLAS OR SOMEBODY. BUT IT'S GAS TANK WAS SHOT FULL OF HOLES AND IT

HAD TO LAND UP IN THE MOUNTAINS. I SAW THE SUFFERING OF THE GREEK PEO
PLE

IN THE CIVIL WAR AND I HOPE I MADE SOME CONTRIBUTION THEN IN
SUPPORTING MR TRUMAN RIGHT DOWN THE LINE IN HIS DECISION TO COME TO
THE AID OF GREECE. I JUST HAVE AN AFFECTION FOR GREECE, I HAVE A GOOD

MANY GREEKS IN MY DISTRICT, GREEK AMERICANS. THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH TO
ELECT ME OR DEFEAT ME, UNLESS THE ELECTION WERE WITHIN ONE PERCENT
OR LESS, BUT I'V GOTTEN TO KNOW THEM AND I DIDN'T COME OUT HERE
LIGHTLY.

Q: YOU HAVE JUST SAID SIR THAT THE PENTAGON OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT
COMMITTED SOME MISTAKES TWOARD GREECE. I DON'T THINK THE GREEK PEOPLE
BLAME THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THAT. ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY VOTED FOR
THE PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED THESE MISTAKES. STILL, WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO
PREVENT THESE MISTAKES? IT IS VERY EASY TO CONDEMN THEM AFTER THEY
HAVE BEEN MADE. BUT WHAT IS THE CONGRESS DOING TO TRY TO PREVENT SUCH
MISTAKES AS THE SUPPORT FOR THE JUNTA AND THEN THE MISTAKEN SUPPORT F
OR

MR SAMPSON? MAYBE THE THIRD MISTAKE WILL BE AN EVEN BIGGER MISTAKE?

A: WELL, I TAKE ISSUE WITH THE CLAIM THAT THEY SUPPORTED MR SAMPSON.
MANY OF US IN THE CONGRESS SPOKE OUT LOUDLY. I CALLED HIM A CHEAP
COPY OF A HOLLYWOOD GANGSTER. THAT WAS MY DESCRIPTION OF HIM. AND I
HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OUT AGAINST AMERICAN POLICY. NOW YOU ASK WHAT DID

I

SPECIFICALLY DO-- WELL ONE OF THE TITLES HE DIDN'T TELL YOU I HAD IS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ATHENS 00026 03 OF 03 022012Z

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE
S.

I HAD A HAND IN ELECTING 75 NEW DEMOCRATS TO CONGRESS, A FINANCIAL HA
ND

AS WELL AS A POLITICAL HAND. AND WE WILL BE MEETING IN A FEW DAYS --
THAT'S ONE OF THE REASONS I HAVE TO BE BACK. THIS CONGRESS IS GOING T
O

BE MUCH LESS TOLERANT OF THOSE KIND OF POLICY DECISIONS. WE DO HAVE
A DIVIDED GOVERNMENT BUT WE DO ALSO HAVE A VERY HEAVY DEMOCRATIC
MAJORITY AND I'M GOING TO DO WHAT I CAN TO SEE THAT THE MAJORITY DOES
NOT CONDONE, OR VOTE MONEY FOR, MISTAKES LIKE WE MADE HERE IN SUPPORT
ING

THE JUNTA. AND I HOPE TO HAVE SOME SUCCESS ALONG THOSE LINES. FURTHER
THAN THAT, IN MY CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE I HAVE ALRE
ADY

ARRANGED TO HOLD HEARINGS IN FEBRUARY ON THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY,
AND THE DEPARTMENT, ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE GROUPS --
IF ANY (AND I'M NOT PREJUDGING THEM) - IN UNDERMINING OR OVERTHROWING
GOVERNMENTS, WHETHER THEY BE DEMOCRATIC OR WHATEVER. I DON'T THINK
HAILE SELASSIE WAS A PARAGON OF VIRRTUE. BUT I DO BELIEVE THE
AMERICAN MILITARY GROUP WAS SOMEWHAT INFLUENTIAL IN WHAT JUST
HAPPENED IN ETHIOPIA. IF WE WERE, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER HAILE SELASSE
RAN A GOOD GOVERNMENT OR NOT, WE SHOULDN'T HAVE BEEN. WE SHOULDN'T
BE IN TERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY COUNTRY ANYWHERE.
THE ONLY THING WE SHOULD DO IS THIS: IF A REPRESSIVE/OPPERSSIVE
REGIME WHICH TORTURES AND MURDERS TAKES OVER, THEN WE OUGHT TO SHOW
OUR DISAPPROVAL BY BEING VERY CORRECT BUT REMAINING A VERY GREAT
ARMS LENGTH DISTANCE AWAY FROM THEM. I THINK IT WAS UNFORUNATE
THAT SO MANY PROMINENT OFFICIALS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION CAME
TO GREECE AND WERE PHOTOGRAPHED SHAKING HANDS WITH THE JUNTA, WHICH
BECAME IN THE MINDS OF THE PUBLIC A "STAMP OF APPROVAL". YOU PROBABLY
DON'T KNOW IT BUT I SLIPPED INTO ATHENS A YEAR AGO IN MAY AND I SAW
MR PAPADOPOULOS. HE DIDN'T WANT TO SEE ME BECAUSE OF MY BEING THE
AUTHOR OF THE HAYS AMENDMENT RESOLUTION. I SAW HIM AND WE HAD A
PLEASANT ENOUGH CONVERSATION - ON THE SURFACE. I KEPT SAYING: YOU
BETTER HAVE AN ELECTION OR AMERICAN IS GOING TO STOP DOING BUSINESS
WITH YOU. AND HIS REPLY WAS: THE GREEK PEOPLE LOVE ME. I SAID, WELL,
THEN THAT'S ALL THE MORE REASON TO HAVE AN ELECTION AND LET EVERYBODY
RUN AND IF THE GREEK PEOPLE LOVE YOU ENOUGH THEY WILL ELECT YOU
AND IF TEY DON'T YOU'LL SOON FIND OUT WHO'S RIGHT. MY OVERALL THEME
WITH HIM WAS THAT I THOUGHT THE DAYS OF DICTATORSHIPS WERE OVER AND
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 ATHENS 00026 03 OF 03 022012Z

THAT THIS COUNTRY OUGHT TO RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. HE SAID: THE GREEKS
AREN'T READY FOR DEMOCRACY. AND I SAID: MR. PRESIDENT, THAT SEEMS A
LITTLE RIDICULOUS TO ME. I'M A FORMER HISTORY PROFESSOR AND THE GREEK
S
INVENTED DEMOCRACY. THE WORLD ITSELF COMES FROM THE GREEK WORD AND
THAT'S ABOUT THE ONLY GREEK WORD I KNOW - DEMOS - AND I SAID I JUST
DON'T BUY THAT KIND OF A STATEMENT THAT THE GREEKS ARE NOT READY
FOR DEMOCRACY.

NOW, I'LL SAY TWO THINGS: THE GREEKS ARE VERY DIFFICULT PEOPLE TO
GOVERN SO ARE THE AMERICANS, AND I'LL SAY TO YOU WHAT SINSTON
CHURCHILL SAID AND WHICH I AGREE COMPLETELY, DEMOCRACY IS PROBABLY
THE WORST FORM OF GOVERNMENT THAT WAS EVER INVENTED, -- UNTIL YOU
LOOK AT EVERY OTHER FORM. IT IS A FRAGILE FORM OF GOVERNMENT; AND
IT'S ONE THAT NEEDS CONSTANT MURTURING AND CARE AND LOVE AND AFFECTIO
N
AND THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PEOPLE TO MAKE SACRIFICES TO KEEP IT GOING

.
WE'RE COMING TO OUR BICENTENNIAL NEXT YEAR, AND WE HAVE NOT FOUND
DEMOCRACY EASY TO KEEP ALIVE IN AMERICA. WE FOUHGT A CIVIL WAR IN WHI
CH
ONE OF MY GRANDFATHERS WAS IN ONE ARMY AND ANOTHER ONE IN ANOTHER
ARMY. AND IN THE AREA THAT MY MOTHER'S FATHER CAME FROM, THERE WERE
OFTEN BROTHERS WHO WERE IN OPPOSING ARMIES, - AN UNCLE AGAINST A
NEPHEW, AND EVEN FATHER AGAINST SON IN THE DIFFERENT ARMIES. SO WE
KNOW WHAT TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS PEOPLE HAVE TO GO THROUGH TO KEEP
DEMOCRACY ALIVE. AND I SYMPATHIZE DEEPLY WITH WHAT THE GREEKS HAVE GO
NE
THROUGH IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS. MY WISH TO THE GREEKS IS THAT THEY W
ILL
HAVE ENOUGH COLLECTIVE WISDOM TO KEEP THIS VERY FRAGILE PLANT ALIVE A
ND
GRWOING IN THIS COUNTRY.

YES, THEY WILL HAVE DIFFERENCES AND DISAGREEMENTS, THAT'S WHAT DE-
MOCRACY IS ALL ABOUT. BUT IN ORDER TO MAKE IT WORK YOU ALSO HAVE TO H
AVE
COMPROMISES. NOW SOME OF THE NEWSPAPERS LIKE THE NEW YORK TIMES AND T
HE
WASHINGTON POST SAY THAT I AM A VERY TOUGH MAN. SOME OF THEM SAY THAT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 ATHENS 00026 03 OF 03 022012Z

I AM THE MOST FEARED MAN IN CONGRESS. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT. BUT I'LL
SAY THAT I AM PROBABLY THE BEST COMPROMISER IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.
(I REMEMBER ONE YEAR WHEN I SAT IN WITH SENATOR FULBRIGHT WHEN I
WAS CHAIRMAN ON THE HOUSE-SIDE WE DISPOSED-OF THAT BILL IN ABOUT ONE
DAY AND TWO HOURS INSTEAD OF SIX WEEKS). I HAPPEN TO THINK THE WORD
COMPROMISE MEANS: YOU GIVE A LITTLE AND YOU TAKE A LITTLE. I'VE

NEGOTIATED A LITTLE BIT WITH THE RUSSIANS IN MY TIME AND THEY
HAVE A TOTALLY DIFFERENT DEFINITION. THEIR DEFINITION IS: WHAT'S
OUR IS OURS AND WHAT'S YOURS WE WILL NEGOTIATE ABOUT. AND THAT ISN'T
THE WAY DEMOCRACY WORKS.

I THINK I'VE RUN OUT OF TIME AND I'M GOING TO HAVE TO LEAVE.
THANK YOU VERY MUCH LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. END TEXT
KUBISCH

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ATHENS00026
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750002-0915
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750183/aaaacuzh.tel
Line Count: 501
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 ATHENS 0024
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JAN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 JAN 2003 by daviscw>; APPROVED <11 FEB 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL HAYS: FULL TEXT PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS ATHENS, JANUARY 2, 1975
TAGS: OREP, PFOR, GR, ET, TU, (HAYS, WANE L)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006